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History of District Assembly 49.

It is a conceded fact that among those thoroughly posted in the history of the laboring world that District Assembly 49 stands at the head of all labor organizations to-day as a shining light whose history is a history of the people; not only among its own adherents, but its loyal services to the cause of the laboring man have become famous throughout the civilized world, and it justly deserves all the praise that may be showered upon it. Its trials have not been a few, and it required men of the keenest judgment and most brilliant intellect to carry the District through some of the obstacles that have been placed in its path but its victories have been many—hard fought, it is true, but nevertheless, "success" that glorious beacon that lures us on to fresh endeavors—has oftentimes been in its grasp, and the enviable position it holds to-day has been heroically fought for step by step. It is a success that is to be admired by all—friends and enemies alike. It has not only brought prosperity to itself in its gigantic struggle for the down-trodden and oppressed, but thousands upon thousands of firesides have been gladdened by its intervention for the good of the bread winner, and instead of having to nipple at a crust, as was oftentimes the case, the workingman's child can now enjoy the full sweets of the loaf.

Even before it was fairly known by the general public that there was a District Assembly of the Knights of Labor in New York City, the young giant District Assembly 49 had his shoulder to the wheel, and was working with all the ardor of youth in the cause of the overworked and under-paid toilers of the great metropolis of New York and vicinity. under the name of the New York Protective Association, and by this title D. A. 49 is still known. When it was first organized, less than six Assemblies took part in the founding ceremony, and it was evident to all that work and only work on the part of the founders would make it a bulwark of strength. The cause of labor then was comparatively in its infancy, and what the cause mostly needed was brains, and a stern determination to use them in a good cause; and to bring harmony and co-operation out of chaos and confusion. There was plenty of talent in their ranks, and volunteers by the score went to work with a will to carry out the object of the District. By dint of arguing and earnest persuasion on the part of the various leaders, one organization after another joined the Protective Association and gradually their ranks increased, until from the comparative few who first banded themselves together, more than a score was in the fold. Educational schools were established and did much toward gaining the desired end. Lecturers of ability were chosen, and sent forth with a God-speed to present the question in its true light, and to pave the way for the organizers who were to follow. This great work was conducted quietly but thoroughly, and in such a manner that success could not but attend them. There was no blatant noise or wild enthusiasm in the onslaught, but quiet, earnest, persuasive work. Night and day were they, these determined men, found wherever they thought duty called them, or that a point could be gained. Slowly but surely their strength augumented until they numbered over a hundred organizations in their ranks, and they were fast becoming a power that was really and truly powerful in the great ranks of the Knights of Labor.

Co-operative enterprises were started, and, in fact, no point was omitted that there could be any benefit derived from. For four years work was kept up unceasingly, and the number of Assemblies kept steadily increasing. From 100 it crept gradually upward slowly, but surely, very slowly sometimes, and again with a grand bound until the 200 mark was passed; but it was not to stop even here, for as the mercury in the bulb of a thermometer responds to the increasing heat, so did the various Assemblies respond to the touching appeals and logical eloquence of those who were devoting their time and untiring zeal to

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bind United Labor into one vast brotherhood that all might receive mutual protection. Thus did matters so favorably progress that in 1886, there were over 400 Assemblies comprised in D. A. 49, with a grand total membership of over 80,000 men and women, and its protecting arm was extended over parts of three States, all powerful in its presence, for it meant protection for those whom sorbid capital had forced to barter the sweat of their brow, and render up a lifetime of toil for the mere pittance that would enable them to keep the wolf from the door, and almost denying them the God-given rights of manhood. Almost every trade and calling was represented in the District, and there were but few comparatively who were upon the outside. Over three hundred delegates attended the weekly sessions of the District, and at the General Assembly in Richmond, Va., in 1886, District Assembly 49 was represented by sixty-one delegates, and ably represented too, for their influence was great in shaping the future work of the Order. So, also, has been their work in previous as well as subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. Ever striving to inculcate into the minds of their brothers from every point in the land the most noble and generous precepts for the benefiting of their fellow-toilers. The advice of this District Assembly and its able officers has been sought time and time again from all quarters of the land, and it is rarely that the advice given ever showed an error of judgment, but, on the contrary, when carefully followed, has been fraught with good results.

THE REDEMPTION OF D. A. 49.

The revolution that was accomplished in D. A. 49 during the years 1893–1805 received its first impetus in the summer of 1892 through the election of Daniel De Leon as District Delegate from L. A. 1563. At that time the once powerful district was rapidly sinking to what seemed irredeemable ruin.

Its management had fallen into the hands of schemers and heelers of the capitalist political parties. With Tammanyite John O'Connell presiding at the Capital and a combination of old partyites, led by John O'Connell and W. A. Curley, Democrats, and George H. Murray and Wm. McNair, Republicans, holding sway on the committees and on the floor, the District was a duplicate of the Central Labor Union ; a parade ground for capitalist politics.

When Daniel De Leon entered the District, he found that there were among the delegates many honest and well-meaning men, who had been mislead and overawed by the tricky and bullying tactics of the schemers, who bolstered themselves up with the prestige of the District's former greatness, which they impudently claimed as the work of their leadership. The first task was to open the eyes of the honest element to the actual role that these leaders had played in the New York labor movement ; to make them understand how the movement had owed its temporary growth to the untired hopes of a discontented working class, how that movement that had come in spite of bad leadership, had to disintegrate because its promises could not be fulfilled, how at that stage, when leadership was most needed. the leaders who had ridden to prominence on the high tide not only proved utterly incompetent to save what might have been saved, but hastened the demoralization by dishonestly exploiting their positions for the advancement for their personal interests and ambitions, how, consequently, these leaders instead of representing the greatness personified the doom of the movement, how, finally, that doom would only be broken by placing the movement on a new basis, free from the weakness of the old, purely economic form and in line with the new conditions, a basis supplementing the ever weakening arm of economic action with the ever strengthening arm of working class politics.

D. A. 49 contained in 1892 a number of Populists, who were willing to support the Socialists to the extent of overthrowing the old partyite leadership. This they did apparently in the hope that they would succeed to the control of the District, when once it was wrenched from the Republican and Democratic heelers. Just so long as that hope lingered, did the Populists co-operate with the Socialists. No sooner did they, however, discover that the revolution, which was being wrought in the District led logically to the adoption of Socialist principles as the basis of the Organization than the Populists turned about and joined hands with their whilom antagonists, the Republican and Democratic pure and simplers.

During the latter half of 1892, the Socialists not only gained some outspoken supporters, but succeeded in shaking the faith of a number of delegates in the leadership of the



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heelers. The result of their work became apparent in the election of officers in January, 1893. Through the co-operation of Socialists and Populists Tammanyite O'Connell was defeated, and Geo. W. McCaddin, a Populist, was elected Master Workman.

Tke old partyites were surprised and enraged over their defeat. They could not realize that their days of glory had for ever passed in D. A. 49. One of them, John O'Connell, of the Ale and Porter Brewers L. A. 8300, boasted that he would still vanquish his opponents; that he did not think of burying the hatchet anywhere except in the skull of his enemies.

In order to regain control of the District the pure and simplers attempted to organize new Local Assemblies, but their efforts proved vain, and their total failure in this respect confirmed the contention of the Socialists that a reorganization of the labor movement was utterly hopeless on the old lines. How rapidly the following of the old leaders was dwindling away became apparent at the election of delegates to the Philadelphia General Assembly in September, 1893. On this occasion the Democratic-Republican heelers nominated two Master Workmen, Murray and O'Connell, but both were overwhelmingly defeated. The vote stood: Greenan 51, De Leon 39, McCaddin 38, Murray 28, O'Connell 26.

The defeat of Master Workman McCaddin was due to the fact that the lines had begun to be drawn between Socialists and Populists.

The occurences at the General Assembly of Philadelphia, the climax of which was the overthrow of Powderly, alarmed the Populist element as to the rapidly growing influence of the Socialists and drove them into an alliance with the Democratic-Republican heelers. Hugh Greenan, the representative of the Populists, supported Powderly, and after the close of the G. A. the bulk of the Populists in D. A. 49, who had formerly been rabid anti-Powderlyites, veered around to the Powderlyite camp.

The first occasion, that revealed the new coalition between the Populists and the old partyites, was furnished by the application of Brewers' Union No. 1 for admission to the District. The Committee on State of the Order, being composed of Populists and old partyites and one Socialist (De Leon), made a majority report adverse to the admission of the Brewers, while De Leon submitted a strong minority report favoring their admission. After a hot debate the anti-Socialist combination carried the day—one of the last days ever carried against the rising tide of socialism.

Shortly after the battle over the admission of the Brewers the election of officers for 1894 came off. The lines were now distinctly drawn. The old partyites and Populists had buried all their former differences and combined on one ticket, headed by Populist McCaddin for Master Workman, who had the advantage of being the incumbent of the office. The Socialists nominated their own ticket with William L. Brower as the candidate for M. W. The result showed an increase of the Socialist vote from 39 (De Leon's vote in September, 1893) to 56, which were cast for Brower. The anti Socialist combination polled 60 votes for McCaddin, insuring his re election by the small margin of four votes.

This election left no doubt as to the complete ascendency of the Socialists at an early day. The desperate attempts to strengthen the anti-Socialist element by bringing new organizations into the District were now repeated by the Populists, but failed as ignominiously as before. The District had dwindled to barely 4000 members and would have continued on its downward course if it had been left to the mercy of the combined reactionists.

When the time came for election of delegates to the General Assembly in New Orleans (September, 1894), the vote showed the anti-Socialist coalition to have fallen into a hopeless minority. De Leon, Brower, Murphy and Kelly were elected with votes ranging from 59 to 70, while the opposition candidates (Loyd, Greenan, Murray, McCaddin) were defeated with minority votes ranging from 11 to 37.

The General Assembly in New Orleans further clarified the situation The Socialist delegation of D. A. 49 made Sovereign, Hayes & Co. understand that, after the Socialists had helped to overthrow Powderly, they meant by no means to allow the new machine to continue the old game of bluff and boodle. They wanted the whole Order to be put on an honest, class-conscious, new trade unionist

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basis and demanded definite guarantees that a change of policy on these lines would be inaugurated. Sovereign, Hayes & Co., still fearful of the re-enthronement of Powderly, promised everything and thereby intensified, for the time being, the anti-Socialist coalition in D. A. 49 against the general officers.

This feeling was not softened by the decision of G. M. W. Sovereign, that played an important part in the election of District in 1895. On January 15, 1895, when the District was about to proceed to balloting for Master Workman, McCaddin ruled that the delegates of the Brewers, Firemen and Beer Drivers (who had, in the meanwhile, been attached to the District by the General Ex. Board) were not entitled to vote, because their Locals were attached to a National Trade District. This ruling was in clear violation of the constitution of the Order, which gives to the Local Assemblies of a National Trade District, when affiliated with a mixed District, the right to vote on all matters in such mixed district except in the election of delegates to the G. A. De Leon appealed from the ruling to the General Master Workman, and obtained a decision, sustaining his appeal before the next meeting of the District.

The balloting at the meeting of January 13, 1895, resulted in a tie vote, the Socialist candidate (Brower) and the anti-Socialist coalition candidate (McKay) receiving each 66 votes.

The interval between this and the meeting of January 27th was devoted to a violent campaign in the capitalist press, which willingly lent itself to the support of the anti-Socialist combine. Both sides also bestirred themselves to bring out their full strength. The result was the largest attended meeting that had been known in the district for the last five years. When the balloting was resumed, 180 votes were cast for Master Workman, of which William L. Brower received 103 and John A. McKay 77. The balloting for Secretary resulted in the re-election of Patrick Murphy by a still larger majority, his vote being 113 as against 50 votes cast for George K. Loyd by the Democratic-Republican Populist coalition.

This election practically accomplished the redemption of D. A. 49 from the bane of fakirism and reactionism in every shape. The gradual progress of this revolution is shown by the successive Socialist votes, as follows:

September, 1803----De Leon----39
January, 1894------Brower -----56
September, 1894----De Leon----58
January, 1895------Brower ----107

The spirit that had now taken possession of D. A. 49 found a clear expression in the inaugural address of Master Workman Brower, delivered on February 10, 1895, and here reprinted because of its historic importance.

FELLOW DELEGATES OF D. A. 49:

It may not be the custom for a newly elected District Master Workman to submit to the District a programme of action or plan of campaign, but the times we move in are unusual and demand unusual proceedings.

It can escape no one's notice that throughout the country society is in a turmoil, and that our several classes—capitalists and working class—are going through a process of disintegration and of reorganization upon new lines.

Ours is a young country and the methods here adopted to solve the social question have been fondly called by our people "American methods." Upon closer examination we find, however, that all these so-called "American methods" have, each and all of them, bobbed up in older countries, were there tried, proved failures, and were discarded for better ones before they had turned up here. We find, accordingly, that the methods we have clung to as "American" were nothing but "first steps," "groping steps," with nothing peculiarly "American" about them, and denoted only the youngness of our country and the inexperience of our people. But all this, nevertheless, we can to-day clearly see that, although we were yet fooling with the methods of inexperience at a time when other countries had got beyond them, we moved faster than any of them, and that now, in less time than it took other nations to reach their present methods, America is abreast of all of them, and the classes into which our own, like all other countries is divided, are now, throughout the length and breadth of the land, arraying themselves under the identical battle cries that we hear in Europe as in Australia. Look at the facts:

Our capitalist class in America has at last thrown off the mask of Democracy and Re-

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publicism, behind which they had hitherto concealed their real character. Their appeal is now undisguisedly to force. Just the same as capitalists of other countries, they now openly declare that the working class is and must be kept an inferior class in the commonwealth, and they admit their impotence to enforce this idea except by a military rule. Here are the proofs: On Thursday, February 13, Col. Waring, the Street-Cleaning Commissioner of this city, who represents the flower of our capitalist class, boldly answered a request of wage workers for higher wages with the answer that "$600 a year was not only ample, but under all circumstances bountiful" pay. Think of it; only $600 a year for those who produce the boundless wealth of this nation, while thousands upon thousands are to be sponged up by the class of idlers who produce nothing but misery, prostitution and crime! And while such is the opinion of these gentlemen as to what the wage worker should get, Gen. Wager Swayne, in company with others of his stripe, demands that military tactics should be thought in our schools, and they announce that by doing so no risk will be run of teaching the military art to the children of the poor, "because these are too poor to go to school," and they demand large appropriations for this new branch of "instruction." Think of that; with thousands of our poor children unable to find admission in the schools for want of room, public moneys are to be appropriated to teach other children to shoot their fellows!

At all points our American capitalists are abreast of their European friends in the method they have decided on to solve the labor question.

But our fellow wage slaves of America are not behind their capitalist oppressors in learning from experience. Accordingly, we find throughout the country the evidences of a powerful movement on the part of the workers to come together and to reorganize upon the only lines that can keep them together and that secure their emancipation. Those lines have been long laid down by our Order; they are the overthrow of the capitalist or wage system of production and the establishment of international co-operation. The vote on Plank 10 by the constituents of the A. F. of L. is significant upon this. Although the traitorous representatives of many of those constituencies disobeyed their mandates and caused the defeat of Plank 10 at Denver, yet sentiment was not and could not be overthrown in the rank and file. The working class of America is now abreast of the workers elsewhere upon the final aim of the labor movement.

In view of all this, a grave responsibility devolves upon this District Assembly, which, always known as progressive, has more lately earned the reputation of being a leading factor in the labor movement of our country, especially in this vicinity.

It should be our first aim, being located in a section of the country where all races, creeds and nationalities are represented to take away from the common enemy that strongest of all weapons with which he has hitherto fought us to wit: the weapon of disruption, of playing one race, one creed, one nationality against the other. Capitalism is international. Whatever the creed, race or nationality of the capitalists, they all hold together So should we, the wage slaves of this social system in America, know neither Jew nor Gentile, German nor Irish, American nor Italian, white nor black, etc., etc., we should see in a workingman only a fellow wage slave, a brother who needs us and whom we need for our common deliverance; and our only endeavor toward him should be to enlighten him upon his condition, his duties and his rights.

In the second place, we should urgently endeavor to impress upon our fellow workers the lessons that are being taught them, and that from a hundred fields of massacre—from Homestead, from Buffalo, from Cour d'Alene, from Tennessee, from Washington, from Michigan, from Chicago, from Brooklyn, etc., etc.—eloquently tell them that that labor organization which in America follows the old style of British trade unionism, known here as pure and simple trade unionism, can only be a toast for the capitalists to crumple with their tea at breakfast; and that experience teaches, first, that the sound organization of labor must be equipped, not only with the shield of the strike and the boycott to assist the encroachments of capital, but also with the sword of the ballot, cast solidly for the party of labor, whereby to oust the capitalist class out of the public powers; secondly, all organizations of labor that do not combine these two weapons of warfare are bound to go to pieces. For

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these reasons I recommend that there be created an Educational Committee, charged with the special mission of visiting the locals and instructing them upon the aims and tactics of the labor movement.

In the third place, and as a consequence of the last suggestion, I consider that, to do effective work, this D. A. needs a permanent secretary, who, being freed from the necessity of looking for jobs to earn his living, can concentrate all his thoughts upon the work of the D. A.; agitate in its behalf; assist the L. A.'s who need assistance, and organize the elements that are ready to be organized. It is my conviction that such a secretary could easily earn his salary and considerably increase our treasury to the benefit of the New York labor movement.

In conclusion, I wish to say that, although the contest that resulted in my election was a severe one, I am not the D. M. W. of any set of men. The very principles under which my campaigu was conducted should be a guarantee of that. I shall insist upon order in debate, upon courtesy between upholders of opposite views, and I rely that all the delegates to the District will aid me during my term of office in the fulfillment of my duties.

D. A. 49 need not be ashamed of its past; but the future before it is glorious, and it may be a source of untold blessings to the workers within a radius of one hundred miles from where I speak. Relying upon your assistance, I shall bestow my efforts to the fulfillment of our great mission.

WM. L. BROWER, D. M. W.

NEW YORK, Feb. 10, 1895.

The Socialists could now go to work with enthusiasm to build up the regenerated District. New Local Assemblies were organized aud existing ones strengthened, so that the membership rose steadily and in September, 1895, reached over 9,000, of which over 7,000 were in good standing.

The further occurrences, affecting D. A. 49's course up to the close of the General Assembly in Washington are related in the report addressed to the District by Daniel De Leon, one of its delegates to said G. A.



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Report of Daniel De Leon,

One of the Seven Representatives of D. A. 49 at the Washington G. A., to the Members of the K. of L.

To the Members of the Order of the Knights of Labor:

In 1891 D. A. 49 had sunk about as low as an organization of workingmen could. A Tammany heeler at the Capital shared the honors harmoniously with a Tom Platt Republican heeler on the floor. Whatever decency and regard for the cause of labor there was entertained by some was held down by the labor fakirs. The District dared call no mass meetings lest it exhibited its weakness and thereby lowered the market price of those who looked upon the Organization merely as a thing to traffic on. This disgraceful state of things suffered a check in July of that year. A Socialist delegate from L. A. 1563 made his appearance on the floor of the district, and from that day on the corruptionists began to be crowded to the wall. The overthrow of Powderly and his cabinet of barnacles at the Philadelphia G. A. in 1893 added new impetus to the purification of D. A. 49. One after another new and progressive Locals were added; what with them and the pure elements that had always been in the District, a new era was started; the District grew in power and standing and soon took a foremost place among the central organizations of labor in this city.

In this work of solidifying, enlightening and purifying the trade and labor movement in this city, the Socialist element in D. A. 49 found itself greatly hampered by the blundering political economy and false sociology preached by the general officers, who had been elected in 1893. The journal of the Order was inane and silly, and the General Master Workman, James R. Sovereign, together with the four members of the General Executive Board, hardly ever opened his mouth in public without putting his foot into it. D. A. 49 looked charitably upon these performances; annoyed though it was at them, it imputed them to unintentional ignorance, and sought to check the evil by educating its officers.

With this end in view the eight Socialist delegates to the New Orleans G. A. last year held a conference. They were the four delegates of D. A. 47, Wm. L. Brower, the D. M. W., Patrick Murphy, the D. R. S., Michael Kelly, the D. W. F., and myself; Richard J. Kerrigan, of Montreal; J. J. Reifgraber, of St. Louis, and the two delegates of the Brewers' N. T. A., August Priesterbach and Charles Bechtold. The final decision arrived at was that, there being danger of the old Powderly gang coming in, we were bound to support the administration, but that, this danger notwithstanding, we could not assume the resposibility of re-electing the general officers unless they pledged themselves to allow the delegation of D. A. 49 to nominate the editor of the *Journal*, and in that way turn the paper from the absurdity that it was in to a source of enlightenment to the workers. We asked the general officers to hold a full session and meet us. The meeting took place in the Hotel Royal on November 18, 1894. All the general officers were present, from Sovereign down. We stated our demands, conditioning our support of all the general officers upon a pledge to place the control of the *Journal* in our hands. The general officers asked time to consider. Bro. Brower suggested at the meeting with the General Officers that the pledge, if given, be given in writing; I rejected the suggestion on the ground that if a verbal pledge was not binding, a written one would be worthless. The following day, speaking for all the Gen-

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eral Officers, James R. Sovereign gave us the pledge; we supported all the General Officers, and before leaving New Orleans I placed in the hands of Mr. Sovereign, a written application, signed by all the 8, recommending Brother Lucien Sanial, of L. A. 1563, as editor of the *Journal*. Mr. Sovereign informed me the transfer would be made by the 1st of the following January, and I so notified Brother Sanial. In subsequent issues of *The People*, I shall publish the documents upon this and all other matters touched upon in this report. Suffice it here to say that in January Mr. Sovereign pleaded the poverty of the Order as an excuse for not appointing Brother Sanial; that this excuse was removed by Brother Sanial's offer not to demand the $30 a week that the editor got, and to do the work for $7 until better times, as an act of abnegation to the Order, and that the matter ended there. Nothing more was heard from the General Officers, but Henry B. Martin, of the General Executive Board, took the editorship. In the penury of the Order, the General Officers were getting little or no salary. Had Mr. Martin remained sinply a member of the G. E. B., his wages would not have been forthcoming. By being made the editor of the *Journal* he received under the guise of editor the $24 a week which he would not have otherwise got. Thus the Order which claimed to be too poor to pay a $7 salary, found it feasible to pay a $24 one.

But the giving of this $24 pension to Mr. Martin was not the sole purpose of the breach of faith on the part of the General Officers. Their breach of faith was the key to far darker crimes, to crimes against the Order and the working class in general. As will appear in the sequel, that breach of faith and the placing of Mr. Martin, of Minneapolis, in control of the *Journal* was a necessary step for the peculation contemplated by the General Officers and for the disgraceful traffic which they meant to conduct and succeeded in conducting with the headquarters of the Order as chief office.

1. *The Critic*, defunct since elections, was a paper that circulated in Baltimore, it was dated in that city, and it was started and kept up as a campaign sheet to boom Gorman's candidate for Governor in Maryland. It assailed not the Socialist ticket only, but also the Populist ticket in that State, and sang the praises of the Democratic ticket and the Democratic party as the true friend of labor. Now, that pro-capitalist sheet, that adversary of the labor party, that bunco steering concern was written, set up and printed at the headquarters of the Order under the immediate supervision of Mr. H. B. Martin; to a great extent, as may be verified by comparing the files, it was made up of matter bodily lifted from the *Journal*. Thus, apart from the infamy of the headquarters of the Order being used as a basis of operation for capitalist political supremacy, and apart from the further infamy of the *Journal* articles being so written as not to conflict with the special articles in *The Critic*, we were treated to the spectacle of Mr. Sovereign making speeches for populism, while the headquarters under his charge were deriving revenue by publishing an anti-populist campaign sheet!

2. Besides *The Critic* job work, the headquarters got the job of printing 50,000 copies of Gorman's Baltimore speech. Everyone knows what it means when capitalist politicians give such a job to a labor organization.

3. In Charter Book 43, p. 58, in charge of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa., and dated March 21, 1894, will be found a charter of incorporation granted to a gas company which purports to exploit an invention that John W. Hayes, the G. S. T. of the Order claims to have made (!?!) "Thomas B. Maguire" appears as one of the incorporators together with Jacob G. Schonfarber, the Baltimore agent of Gorman, and Daniel J. Hayes, the brother of Hayes. Thomas B. Maguire, a member of the G. E. B., repudiates the "insinuation" that he is the "T. B. Maguire" of the charter, and he does so in almost the identical language of the Sugar-trust Senator caught speculating in bonds, who said: "It is not me, it is my son." While Maguire and Sovereign and the rest are denouncing "bond issues," we find two General Officers and their chief adjutant trying to float the bonds of a corporation which they own. But how are these bonds to be floated? Let us see:

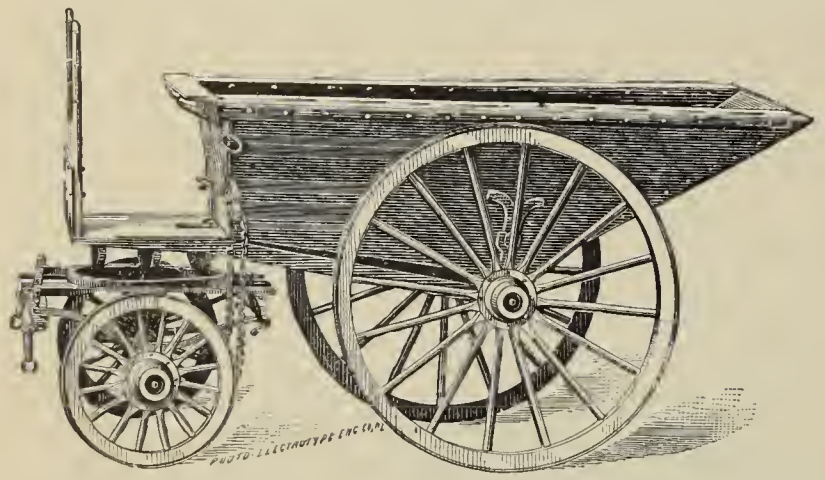
4. On February 1, 1893, John W. Hayes writes on the official letter head of the Order a letter to Charles Martin, of Tiffin, Ohio, in which, after seeking to persuade him to step out of the labor movement as unprofitable, suggests to him that he undertake the agency of the gas concern for Ohio, and points out

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how to get the charters or franchise from the towns in this language: "Make your capital stock at about $75,000, and if necessary *give away $25,000 of it to get the right from the town*." In other words, bribe your way through. This letter also will appear in full over Hayes' own signature. And yet again:

5. There will be found in the Congressional Records of this year a statement by Congressman J. Frank Aldridge producing a correspondence he had with D. A. 24 of Chicago, in which there figures a dispatch to Mr. Aldridge from one Joseph Banes, assuming to denounce the Congressman in the name of D. A. 24, for having voted in a certain way on a gas bill, and a subsequent official letter from D. A. 24, signed by the D. M. W. and the D. R. S., from which it appears that Jos. Banes proceeded upon his own responsibility. Now this Joseph Banes is an employee at the headquarters of the Order.

Each of these facts was categorically proved at the Washington G. A. this month. That knowledge that each and every one of them was held in D. A. 49 was also well known by the General Officers. They knew full well that with a Socialist, a nominee of D. A. 49, at headquarters and in control of the *Journal* such rascality and perfidity to the working class could never have trived; the headquarters could never have been turned into a den of scoundrelism, from which political jobbery and blackmailing schemes to gain franchises for corporations by corruption would have issued or been fostered. The guilt the Order's headquarters was conscious of, and the further consciousness of the fact that D. A. 49, and especially L. A. 1563, had its eyes upon the malefactors in office, made them look with grave suspicion upon D. A. 49. Still as late as last July the pack of brigands in Washington felt comparatively at ease. It so happened that, owing to local strikes in New York, our per capita had run low. No more than two delegates were expected by headquarters from D. A. 49 at the approaching G. A. But they erred. Within a few weeks we paid up the per capita upon a larger number of our membership; and when General Executive Board T. B. Maguire, "The Father," learned that we would "be there" with six, if not seven or more delegates, he acted as if he had been thunderstruck. D. A. 49 became forthwith an object of dread for headquarters, not only by reason of what it knew and was known to be determined to expose, but especially by reason of the large vote it would be able to cast in the G. A.

In the midst of their quandary how to escape the doom with which the large delegation of D. A. 49 threatened them, the General Officers received unexpected aid from St. Louis.

Mr. Ernest Kurzenknabe, a cross between an Anarchist and a "Pure and Simpler" of the basest sort, as shown by *The People* of last October 13th, is the editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung* and National Secretary of the Brewers' Organization, affiliated with the K. of L. As a matter of course, this Kurzenknabe is a violent adversary of the Socialists, especially where they are in the field against capitalism, and are growing as majestically as they are doing in the twin cities of New York and Brooklyn. He resided in New York at one time, and here he entered into a conspiracy with the Anarchist Weismann, the political crook Gompers, and others, to disrupt the party in general, and the new trade unionist Central Labor Federation in particular. The result was that he and his fellow-conspirators were broken up; he was driven from New York and has since been living in exile in St. Louis. As shown in *The People* on last October 13th, the Kurzenknabe organization has in this city a "pure and simple" insignificant body, called "Brewers' Union No. 1;" this union has a boycott of old standing, which it is unable to enforce against what it calls "pool beer;" the Central Labor Federation, in which some K. of L. locals of D. A. 49 were represented, did not endorse the silly thing; this Brewers' Union is also in the Central Labor Union, which boycotts K. of L. workers, nevertheless, according to the approved methods of pure and simpledom, it demanded everything for itself, without being ready to support other workers. It grew wroth at the C. L. F., and this jumped exactly with Kurzenknabe's combined hatreds of the C. L. F. and of the Socialist Labor Party. This was at about the time when the General Officers were at their wits' end how to parry the dreaded blow from D. A. 49. Kurzenknabe came to their aid. He wrote a letter to headquarters, bringing charges against L. A. 1563 for being in the C. L. F., and then proceded with a long diatribe and a string of invectives against the "New York Socialists,"

"RIDE A COCK-HORSE TO BANBURY CROSS,
TO SEE A FINE LADY UPON A WHITE HORSE;
RINGS ON HER FINGERS, AND BELLS ON HER TOES,
SHE SHALL HAVE MUSIC WHEREVER SHE GOES."



SO SINGS THE FOND MOTHER IN NURSERY RHYME
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who, together with the C. L. F., had to be downed, etc. This important letter, throwing such valuable light upon matters, as will presently appear, was produced by Mr. Hayes himself at the G. A. Finding himself nailed on all sides by letters over his own signature, he lost his head; seeking to show what a wicked set the "New York Socialists" were, he produced this Kurzenknabe letter.

The Kurzenknabe letter suggested to the General Officers a plan to balk D. A. 49 from the G. A. L. A. 1563 was immediately summoned to a trial "by order of the G. E. B," although only two—Martin and Maguire, the "Father," of the five members gave the order. The trial came off and the persecution broke to pieces. It was attempted to prove that L. A. 1563, together with fifteen other Socialist Locals in the D. A. 49, had disobeyed the order to boycott, and thus it was expected to knock D. A. 49 to pieces. In the first place, it soon appeared that, even if the order to boycott had been disobeyed, it could not have been disobeyed by more than two Locals, and thus, even if these were immediately expelled it would not cripple the D. A. This was the first disappointment to the conspirators. The second was worse yet. It was proved that both the other Locals had loyally observed the boycott, and that the only ones who did not were the accusers themselves, who got drunk on pool beer.

Immediately upon the failure of the first case, the G. E. B. trumped up a new charge against L. A. 1563, and at the same time extended its line of attack by taking the hint given by Kurzenknabe against the Socialists. On October 16th, the day before the second summons was issued against L. A. 1563, Mr. Hayes wrote to J. W. Patterson, D. M. W. of D. A. 6, in Ottawa, Canada, urging the District to send a delegate to the G. A.; the expenses, he explained, would be easily "covered by the mileage of the delegates;" and then he proceeds to explain why the matter is so urgent, he says—"I don't think there will be much of a contest this time other than the Socialists who have been trying to rule a portion of the Order, and are trying to get control of the G. A. This is impossible however, but nothing will be left to chance....Have your delegate with us if possible." Simultaneously with that, Mr. Hayes sought to estrange Richard J. Kerrigan, of Montreal, from D. A. 49, and thinking he had succeeded, sent him money to come along. In both these cases, Mr. Hayes barked up the wrong tree, and his Canadian correspondence was produced in the G. A., very much to his discomfiture. How many more of such letters were in all likelihood sent to his distant delegates raising the bugaboo of Socialism will also presently appear.

Covering up their rear by such means, Martin, Maguire and French appeared in the city to try L. A. 1563 on the second charge. The L. A. demurred to their jurisdiction, the G. E. B. having no right to break through the jurisdiction of the D. A., especially in view of the fact that the D. M. W. of D. A. 49 had already instituted an investigation of the matter complained of. The three members of the G. E. B. tried to play "kangaroo court;" the L. A. appealed to the G. M. W., and refused to proceed until the decision of the G. M. W. was received. The G. E. B. then proceeded with other disregard to law and decency, tried the case ex parte, notwithstanding the appeal from their jurisdiction, suspended the Local, and recommended to the G. M. W. that its charter be revoked. L. A. 1563 then took an appeal to the G. M. W. from the decision, and on October 29th, the G. M. W. decided the conduct of the G. E. B. was wrong. He said: "I am of the opinion that an appeal on a constitutional question involving the jurisdiction of the G. E. B. to try the case was a valid ground to stop further procedure in the case until the question of jurisdiction was passed upon by the G.M.W." This notwithstanding, the G. M. W. refused to reverse the decision, and he and the G. E. B. carefully abstained from re-organizing the L. A. with the innocent members. In this way they sought to keep me out of the G. A., being a member of the L. A., and they hoped to be able to keep out all the other six delegates of D. A. 49, on the calculation that the District might rebel at such provocation.

The District kept its peace; its delegates entering the G. A., and I myself was conditionally admitted pending a decision by the G. A. on the appeals of my Local. The General Officers sought by hook and crook to smother the trial in the Committee on Appeals and Grievances, the chairmanship of which they had the indecency of giving to one of the office employees—Andrew D. Best, and which

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Best was indecent enough to accept. But they failed, and after much struggle the trial was held on November 14th and 15th, before the G. A. itself.

At the trial, and substantiating every point with documents, as above quoted, I proved the conspiracy of the General Officers to defraud D. A. 49 of of its representation and of the criminal reasons they had to fear us; I also proved the illegality of the two sham trials, beginning with an illegal summons and closing with a decision which Mr. Sovereign himself condemned as unlawful in view of the appeal to the jurisdiction. At this point mention should be made of a remarkable incident.

H. B. Martin tried to make out that I was a conspirator. In proof of that he stated that he had in his hands a statement signed by an honorable Knight of Labor, showing that at a recent meeting in Washington, I had dissuaded an inquirer from joining the Order. I demanded the name of the signer of the statement; he answered: "Arthur Keep;" on the spot I demanded that the case be not closed before Arthur Keep was confronted with me, and promised the G. A. that I would prove Martin a bearer of false testimony. Martin, as I subsequently learned, saw Keep that night and tried to inveigh him into signing the statement, which he, Martin, had stated that day on the floor of the G. A. was signed by Keep. Keep suspected a trick, and refused; he was told by Martin that he "might" be sent for the next day by the G. A.; but Keep knowing his man, did not wait to be sent for, and appeared in the vestibule the next morning, much to the discomfiture of Martin. Brother Simmons who represented the Washington District, had told me the previous night that he informed Martin that Keep had denied the statement as read by Martin; when, the next morning, at the meeting of the G. A., November 15th, Brother Simmons informed me, that Keep was at hand, I demanded that he be brought in. He was. Martin asked him if he had not made the statements which appeared on a slip of paper handed him by Martin. Thereupon followed a scene worth remembering. Keep read the slip through, and said: "No; I did not make this statement; there are things here which I did not say; and much that I did, and is important does not appear here; and for this reason I refused last night to sign this paper. You were putting a whole lot of things into my mouth that I did not say. This statement is substantially false." Being examined by me, he stated he was from Minneapolis, the same as Martin, and being asked if he was a very intimate friend of Martin's, he answered with disgust: "No; I could not be: he is as crooked as a ramshorn; he has done no end of mischief to the workmen in Minneapolis; he broke faith with them when he was in office and supported a fraudulent sale of property to the city; his paper there is for sale to the highest bidder of either of the capitalist parties."

In this whole incident, Martin had counted without his host. The desperate straits he was in drove him to make the false charge; he never imagined he would be asked for his authority; he never thought I would have Keep produced; and when, that night he found out that Keep persisted in not signing the false statement, he did not imagine that Keep would appear before the G. A. without a "summons" from Martin. The exposure was complete.

Was the long array of facts and documents—the illegal summons, the decision suspending my L. A. and pronounced wrong by the G. M. W. himself, the delay in re organizing my L. A. the infamy of the transactions with Gorman, the still blacker crime of Hayes' gas corporation and the methods he recommended to float its bonds, and finally the crushing blow Martin had administered to himself with the Arthur Keep episode—was not all that enough to convince every decent man in the G. A. and to overthrow the pack that is riding the workingmen in the Order? It certainly was, and did. But the decent men were not in the majority. The vote cast against the general officers was 21, they kept 23. The G. A. was packed, and the packers, 13 in number, were voted by the administration. The situation was excellently summed up by Delegate Michael F. O'Brien, of Boston, who, on the floor of the G. A. said, in view of that disgraceful sight: "There are delegates here with strings tied to their legs so tight that they walk lame."

Nor should the fact be overlooked that Mr. Sovereign voted against his own decision, and subsequently to keep Hayes in office. The precious set hung together knowing that if they didn't they would hang separate.

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Important as these facts are, the picture is not complete enough to enable one to arrive at a clear understanding of the situation without looking into the composition of the two sides into which the G. A. was divided—the 21 and the 23—and their respective constituencies.

The Order lost fully 20 000 members during the last year. It now numbers barely 30,000 in good standing. Of these, about 6,000, scattered in all directions, were not represented at the G. A. There was left 24,000 represented.

The 21 votes cast for the cause of the working class and of honor—D. A. 49's 7, the Brewers' N. T. A's 2, D. A. 30's 2, the Miners' N T. A's 2, and D. A's 1, 4, 6, 12, 13, 18, 47 and 66, with 1 each—represented 17,000 workers.

The 23 votes cast for and by the administration represented barely 7,000 men. And what is more, of these 23, only 10 represented about 6,700; they were D. A. 253, with 3,500; D. A. 220, with 1,500; D. A. 75, with 300; the Clothing Cutters' N. T. A., with 700; D. A. 41, with 500; and D. A. 197, with 200. The remaining 13 votes represented barely 500, at best; they came from paper constituencies, like French, Vanderburg, of Oregon; Mansion, the Albany politician; Warren and John W. Hayes. The other eight represented nothing whatever, not a shadow; these were Sovereign himself, whose bragging articles about thousands flocking to him in the West are now amusing reading; Martin, whose District and Local are both defunct; Allen, of Michigan; Forbes, of South Carolina; Judge Lindholm, of malodorous Chicago celebrity; Murray and Robertson.

These figures and facts are suggestive. Reform from within should not be lightly given up. But what chance of reform is there from within with desperadoes like the present officers holding the Order by the throat? They appoint the credential committees, they get the mileage to distribute and furnish the credentials. The larger and more powerful a District all the larger the mileage and other funds placed at the disposal of the General Officers with which to pack a G. A. with their disreputable creatures. D. A. 49, for instance, paid in $350 mileage; of this amount it received back only $75; $275 of the District's funds were used to pack the G. A. against the District itself!

In view of all this, I, for one, repudiate the Washington G. A., its decisions and the General Officers, and I call upon all self-respecting members of the Order to do the same. We cannot conscientiously invite any workingman to join an organization that is so hopelessly held in the grip of the ignorant and traitorous crew in control, and who have prostituted it to their own base ends.

But this is not all. Though to strand on the sands of disgrace the wreck that is left of the Order is in itself good work, the work of reconstruction must follow, else that of detruction is fruitless. The A. F. of L. has become the football of two political crooks. Its fate and that of the Order is the fate that ever awaits pure and simpledom. The workers will no longer see-saw backwards and forwards from the Knights to the Federation, and back again. The two have now become a stench in the nostrils of the American proletariat. They have been the buffers of capitalism against which every move of progressive organization has spent its forces. Let us reorganize upon that higher plane that sooner or later the labor organizations are bound to take—the plane of identity economical and political efforts, consolidated, inspired, guided and purified by the class consciousness of the wage slave, who, having nothing to lose but his chains and a world to win, is ready to devote himself to nothing less than to his complete emancipation, in the unflagging and unterrified pursuit of which no chance can be given for the labor barnacle to fasten upon, sell him out and nullify his efforts.

DANIEL DE LEON.

New York, Nov. 27, 1895.

The report of the delegates to the G. A. were considered at a meeting of the District, held December 1, 1895, of which the following truthful report was given in the *People*:

"D. A. 49, K. of L., approved itself last Sunday evening worthy of the reputation it had earned and maintained for the last three years as a foremost champion of the cause of labor, and, consequently, as an object of terror to fakirism. It repudiated with well merited scorn the pack of usurpers that call themselves 'General Officers,' reversed the decisions of the bogus Washington G. A., and decided upon a long step forward toward



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placing the industrial organizations of the land upon the plane where alone there can be unity among them and progress in the economic movement.

Apart from the secession of the Canadian Knights, the storm that was rising among the members of the Order in the city against the so-called General Officers, caused the District Master Workman, Wm. L. Brower, to call a special meeting of the D. A. for last Sunday evening at 7.30. The meeting was the fullest the D. A. has seen since 1886. A large number of visitors were present, and Mr. James R. Sovereign, who sports the usurped title of 'General Master Workman,' together with his two lieutenants, T. B. Maguire, 'The Father,' and Chas. H. French, also turned up, hoping to intimidate the D. A.

"The sesssion opened with the reports of the delegates to the G. A., all of whom stated very much in full the series of rascalities that were brought home to the General Officers.

"The speakers closed at 1 o'clock in the morning, and immediately Patrick Murphy moved the adoption of the following resolutions:

"Acting upon the report of its delegates to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, held at Washington, D. C., from November 12 to 22, 1895, after considering the mass of evidence within reach as to the fraudulent composition of the said General Assembly and the perfidious conduct of the schemers who now fraudulently claim to be the General Officers of the Order, D. A. 49 hereby resolves as follows:

"1. It is established by the overwhelming testimony of facts that the men who a year ago were trusted with the executive powers of the Order, namely, James R. Sovereign, G. M.W.; John W. Hayes, G. S. T.; Henry B. Martin, Thomas B. Maguire, Charles A. French, and James M. Kenny of the G. E. B., immediately entered into a compact whereby those somewhat autocratic powers, together with the name, influence and resources of the Order, instead of being used honestly and conscientiously for the advancement of the labor movement, were politically and commercially prostituted for the personal advantage of the above named General officers. For instance, the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, by means of special editions, entitled *The Critic*, was converted into a Gorman campaign sheet of the Democratic party, while its regular edition professed Populism, and by advocating the free coinage of silver in the interest of the alliance between the Silver Kings and the bankrupt middle class, undertook to sidetrack the labor movement from its only true line—the abolition of of the wage-system, as distinctly prescribed by the platform of the Order. Again, Hayes and Maguire engaged in the business of floating the stocks and bonds of gas corporations, the municipal privileges for which were sought to be obtained by them in the usual corrupt way known in boodledom as 'Addition, Division and Silence.'

"'2. It is also conclusively proved by the overwhelming testimony of facts that in order to keep in their own defiled and defiling hands the executive powers which they had thus diverted from the noble purpose of the Order to the vilest schemes, the aforesaid conspirators packed the General Assembly with a number of their own creatures, who represented bogus constituencies, using for this object the mileage funds which had been paid by D. A. 49 and other bona fide organizations. In this way the total vote, including their own, was made to stand 23 in their favor and 21 against them. Of the 23 members in their favor, four (Sovereign, Hayes, Martin and French) were the executive officers—four of the conspirators—with no constituency behind any of them, one (Andrew D. Best) was an employee in the General Office, and nine represented absolutely nothing, not even their degraded selves, hired as they were to do the dirty work of their employers.

"'3. With a deep sense of outraged manhood and of plain duty to the labor cause, we therefore repudiate the aforesaid General Assembly and the buccaneers who impudently style themselves the General Officers of the Knights of Labor.

"'4. Furthermore, trusting that in the light of this and many another similar experience the wage-working class of this continent will at last perceive the contrast afforded by the growing impotency of American Labor under the lead of "pure and simple" fakirs on the one hand, and the grand achievements of European Labor under the banner of International Socialism on the other hand, we hereby call upon all Knights of Labor Assemblies and all progressive organizations to join with us in

establishing a National Body on the only natural lines of the labor movement, the lines plainly marked out by the class struggle, in a word, the lines of International Socialism.

" 'A committee of three is hereby appointed to immediately carry out the present resolution.'

"A motion to lay the resolutions on the table was speedily rejected, whereupon the motion to adopt was carried by more than two-thirds majority amid the greatest rejoicings on the part of the progressive majority.

"By this motion, Mr. James R. Sovereign was virtually set out upon the side-walk of the labor movement together with all his fellow traitors to the working class among the General Officers. But his exit was more undignified than even his weak intellect and pappy character had warranted us to expect. After the two-hours' report of William L. Brower, in which the General Assembly and its managers were exposed to scorn, Mr. Sovereign demanded the floor. He began by trying to play the bully. "We want no Socialists in the Order," he bellowed, "get out, or I'll put you out." That was received with jeers, and then he changed his tune. He began to whimper, declared he was a Socialist himself and played the baby act generally. But he saw that the audience before him looked stern, and like a whipped whelp he walked out about midnight, not daring to face inevitable defeat.

" Maguire and French were more brazen ; they stayed to the end, seeking by all manner of quibbles and interruptions to disturb the proceedings, and when finally the resolutions casting them out were adopted they made a dive for the charter, they were intercepted and they desisted in their purpose, wisely concluding that to land on the street on their feet was by far better than to land there on their backs after describing the graceful circles of 'Catherine wheels' through the air.

" Exit the double-faced and infamous combination Sovereign - Hayes - Martin - Maguire, 'The Father,'-French-Kenney.

" Sic semper to the traitors of labor."

On December 6, 1895, Comrades William L. Brower. Patrick Murphy and H. Carless, the committee appointed under the above resolutions, met with the General Executive Board of the Central Labor Federation and joined with said Board in constituting the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.



. . Old Glory . .

Thou art freedom's child, Old Glory,
Born of freedom's high desire,
Nursed amid the battle's ire,
Tried by thunderbolt and fire
On the field and on the tide
Where our heroes side by side
Followed thee and fought and died,
Gazing on thy stars, Old Glory !

We will stand by thee, Old Glory,
On the lands on the waves,
For our babes and for our graves,
Though we stand or fall as slaves,
For thy stars were not to blame
For the treason, fraud and shame
That pollute thy holy name
In our halls of state, Old Glory !

Knaves have stolen thee, Old Glory,
For their Babylonian bowers ;
From their festal walls and towers
Droops the flag that once was ours.
O'er their crimes thy beauty trails,
And the old time answer fails
When from chain gangs, courts and jails
Men appeal to thee, Old Glory !

Be our shield once more, Old Glory,
Lo, the world in travail pain
Turns and pleads to thee in vain,
While through plundered vale and plain,
Stripped and bruised by licensed thieves,
Starving, begging for her sheaves,
Outcast labor, tramps and grieves,
With no help from thee, Old Glory !

We will rescue thee, Old Glory,
Bloodless may the process be,
Peaceful as the yearning sea
Anchored to the windless lea ;
But if peace can not avail,
Welcome tidal wave and gale,
Welcome lightning, flame and hail,
Till thy very stars turn pale
In thy grander light, Old Glory !

If it must be so, Old Glory,
If blind error smite with force
Truth and justice at their source.
Suns and planets in their course,
Let the earthquake lift the deep,
Let the wild floods wake from sleep,
Let the crouching terrors leap,
And where God's own toilers reap
We will carry thee, Old Glory !

JAMES G. CLARK IN *Arena*.

The Arm with the Hammer.

Ho! Men of the workshops with sweat covered faces,
Ho! Work-worn women for respite who long.
Ho! All ye who sob in the wage-masters' traces,
Prepare ye, prepare ye a jubilee song.
Ye hills give it echo. Ye storm billows drift it,
Through the streets of all cities, oh message, take wing:
"The hand with the hammer, the arm uplifted,
"Will shatter the throne of the Capital King."
Aye:—
The hand with the hammer, the hand with the hammer
Can shatter the power of the Capital King.

Ho! Mystic-eyed babies who pine for your mothers.
Ho! Frail little sisters who nurse them and weep.
Ho! Sore-footed work-seeking heart-weary brothers
In the midnight of ignorance, never more sleep;
For the light is now spreading—the dark clouds are rifted
Through the streets of all cities, oh message, take wing.

"The hand with the hammer, the arm uplifted
Will shatter the throne of the Capital King."
Aye:—
The hand with the hammer, the hand with the hammer
Can shatter the power of the Capital King.

Ho! Genius Ho! Honor. The torches are lighted,
For wealth-buried manhood the search has begun.
From the tombs of privation, new pilots invited,
Shall turn the prow of this ship to the sun.
The false from the true shall now sternly be sifted.
To all trembling fakirs, oh message, take wing;
"The hand with the hammer, the arm uplifted
Will shatter the throne of the Capital King."
Aye:—
The hand with the hammer, the hand with the hammer
Can shatter the power of the Capital King.